

Message Text

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 12294 01 OF 02 121036Z
ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 TRSE-00 ACDA-07
(ISO) W

-----001437 122017Z /14

R 120920Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 151
INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
USLO PEKING
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
COMUSJAPAN YOKOTA AB

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 12294

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PGOV, PINT, JA, CH, UR, US
SUBJECT: JAPANESE PLANS TO REVIVE PFT NEGOTIATIONS WITH CHINA

REF: A. TOKYO 12190 (NOTAL)
B. TOKYO 11383 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: INFORMATION FROM VARIOUS SOURCES CONNECTED WITH
FONOFF SUGGESTS FUKUDA IS TRYING TO BUILD CONSENSUS NECESSARY
FOR FURTHER STEPS TOWARD CONCLUSION OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP
TREATY (PFT) WITH CHINA. FORMIDABLE OBSTACLES OF LONG-
STANDING, HOWEVER, REMAIN: OPPOSITION OF PRO-TAIWAN FACTION
WITHIN FUKUDA'S PARTY, REACTION OF SOVIETS TO INCLUSION OF
ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE, AND CHINESE REFUSAL TO DATE TO AGREE
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PAGE 02 TOKYO 12294 01 OF 02 121036Z

TO LANGUAGE SOFTENING ANTI SOVIET IMPACT OF ANTI-HEGEMONY
CLAUSE.

IN ATTEMPT TO OVERCOME THESE DIFFICULTIES, FONOFF HAS
MADE EFFORTS TO SOOTHE PRO-TAIWAN LEADERS WITHIN LDP,
HAS PROPOSED A MOSCOW TRIP FOR FONMIN (REF A), IN
PART TO EXPLAIN TO SOVIETS JAPANESE POSITION ON PFT,

AND REPORTEDLY IS PUTTING TOGETHER "NEW" NEGOTIATING PACKAGE FOR USE BY AMBASSADOR SATO IN PEKING IN RE-OPENING TALKS ON PFT. AN IMPORTANT ADDITIONAL FACTOR BEARING ON ALL OF ABOVE IS SECRETARY'S UPCOMING VISIT TO PEKING, END SUMMARY.

2. AT LUNCHEON AUGUST 3, FONOFF CHINA DIVISION OFFICER TARUI TOLD EMBOFF THAT IN LINE WITH HIS GOVERNMENT'S DESIRE TO MOVE FORWARD ON PFT, CHINA DIVISION WAS PREPARING NEGOTIATING POSITION PAPER FOR NEW AMBASSADOR SATO IN PEKING (REF B). TARUI STATED THAT GOJ HOPED TALKS WOULD BEGIN SOON AFTER SATO SETTLES IN. HE NOTED THAT PEKING WAS PREFERRED VENUE, SINCE EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN DIFFICULTY OF MAINTAINING SECRECY IN TOKYO.

3. IN AUGUST 9 CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFFS, YOMIURI FONOFF CORRESPONDENT HIRANO ALSO EXPRESSED BELIEF THAT GOJ WANTS TO MOVE AHEAD WITH PFT. HE NOTED THAT AMBASSADOR SATO, PRIOR TO DEPARTURE FOR PEKING, HAD SPENT UNSUAL AMOUNT OF TIME WITH MANY OF LDP LEADERS WHO HAD OPPOSED MOVES TOWARD PEKING IN PAST. AT RECENT FONOFF DAILY BACKGROUND BRIEFING, REPORTER HAD ASKED SATO WHY HE HAD ALREADY LINGERED 6 WEEKS IN TOKYO, WHEN AN AMBASSADOR USUALLY DEPARTS FOR POST WITHIN 30 DAYS. SATO REPLIED THAT AMONG OTHER THINGS HE HAD NEEDED TO CONFER WITH "ALL FACTIONS" OF LDP, CONSULTATIVE PROCESS WHICH
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PAGE 03 TOKYO 12294 01 OF 02 121036Z

CORRESPONDENTS VIEWED AS PART OF CONCERTED FONOFF EFFORT TO REDUCE OPPOSITION TO CONCLUSION OF PFT.

4. HIRANO ALSO EXPECTED THAT FOLLOWING GOJ ASSESSMENT OF VANCE VISIT, RESULTS OF WHICH WILL HAVE IMPORTANT BEARING ON GOJ THINKING WITH RESPECT TO FUTURE MOVES TOWARD PEKING, HATOYAMA WOULD WANT TO GO TO MOSCOW (REF A). PRESS VIEWS PROSPECTIVE MOSCOW TRIP IN CHINA CONTEXT, ASSUMING THAT GOJ INTENT WOULD BE TO CUSHION BLOW OF POSSIBLE PFT CONCLUSION BY REITERATING AT HIGH LEVEL JAPANESE DESIRE FOR FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH USSR AND DISCLAIMING ANY ANTI-SOVIET INTENTIONS ON PART OF JAPAN. HIRANO ADDED THAT TIMING WAS IMPORTANT, AS JAPANESE WOULD LIKE TO SHOW AT LEAST SOME PROGRESS TOWARD PFT BEFORE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF NORMALIZATION OF SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS SEPTEMBER 29.

5. AS NOTED REF A, SAME THEME WAS STRUCK IN AUGUST 10 ASAHI REPORT ATTRIBUTED TO FONMIN OFFICIAL TRAVELING WITH PRIME MINISTER. THAT REPORT ALSO ASSERTED TOKYO IS WORRIED ABOUT TREATY DELAY AND WANTS TO SCORE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN TALKS BY FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF

RESTORATION OF SINO-JAPANESE TIES. TOWARD THIS END,
REPORT STATED FONMIN HATOYAMA HOPES TO MEET WITH
HUANG HUA DURING UNGA FOR DETAILED TALKS TO SEARCH FOR
WAYS TO BREAK THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS DEADLOCK.

6. ACCORDING TO TADASHI IKEDA, PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
VICE-FOREIGN MINISTER ARITA, HATOYAMA HIMSELF WAS
SOURCE FOR ASAHI STORY. (IKEDA BELIEVED THAT BY CASTING
MOSCOW VISIT IN TERMS OF PROSPECTIVE MOVES TOWARD PRC,
HATOYAMA MAY HAVE INADVERTENTLY TORPEDOES IT.) IKEDA
NOTED THAT PROGRESS ON PFT STILL DEPENDS HEAVILY ON
FLEXIBILITY OF CHINESE RESPONSE TO JAPANESE INITIATIVES.
HE EXPECTED THAT JAPANESE NEGOTIATING POSITION, WHILE
CONTAINING SOME NEW ELEMENTS, WOULD CONTINUE TO BE
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PAGE 04 TOKYO 12294 01 OF 02 121036Z

BASED MAINLY ON FORMER FONMIN MIYAZAWA'S "FOUR POINTS,"
WHICH PRC HAS ROUNDLY REJECTED IN PAST. THUS, UNLESS
CHINESE ARE PREPARED TO SHOW CERTAIN DEGREE OF "UNDER-
STANDING", IKEDA FELT PROGRESS TOWARD CONCLUSION OF
PFT WAS UNLIKELY.

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 12294 02 OF 02 121041Z
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-----117543 121047Z /14

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 12294

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

7. COMMENT: AS ALWAYS, JAPANESE PROGRESS TOWARD CHINA PFT IS TORTUOUS AND PROBLEMATIC, DEPENDENT UPON BOTH DEVELOPMENT OF DOMESTIC CONSENSUS AND EXTERNAL FACTORS BEYOND TOKYO'S CONTROL. DOMESTICALLY, PRO-TAIWAN FACTIONS OF LDP REMAIN OPPOSED TO CONCLUSION OF PFT. ALTHOUGH SATO MADE GESTURE OF ATTEMPTING TO ASSUAGE SOME OF THESE INDIVIDUALS, WE HAVE HEARD NOTHING FROM OUR SOURCES THAT PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA HAS YET LINKED HIS PERSONAL PRESTIGE TO CURRENT PFT EFFORT. EXTERNALLY, SOVIETS COULD EITHER REJECT HATOYAMA'S PROPOSED VISIT OR REACT HARSHLY TO CHINA DISCUSSIONS. AS IKEDA INDICATED, THE JAPANESE ARE ALSO DEPENDING UPON CHINESE FLEXIBILITY--A NOTORIOUSLY SCARCE COMMODITY IN PAST. FINALLY, RESULTS OF SECRETARY'S VISIT TO PEKING WILL WEIGH HEAVILY IN CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 TOKYO 12294 02 OF 02 121041Z

JAPANESE CALCULATIONS. SHOULD JAPANESE LEARN THAT PACE OF SINO-US NORMALIZATION HAS QUICKENED, THEY WILL STEP UP THEIR OWN EFFORTS TO CONCLUDE PFT. BY SAME TOKEN, IF THERE IS LITTLE PROGRESS TOWARD NORMALIZATION IN SECRETARY'S VISIT, TRADITIONAL OBSTACLES TO CONCLUSION OF PFT WILL REASSERT THEMSELVES AND MOMENTUM WHICH CURRENTLY SEEMS TO BE BUILDING WILL DISSIPATE. MANSFIELD

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Message Attributes

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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977TOKYO12294
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Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
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Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 TOKYO 12190, 77 TOKYO 11383
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1611475
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: JAPANESE PLANS TO REVIVE PFT NEGOTIATIONS WITH CHINA
TAGS: PGOV, PINT, JA, CH, UR, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/3d38f25a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009